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CONTENTS

		Page
Editorial—Some Highlights	...	1
A Sociological Approach to Economic Development By Dr. C. M. Abraham	...	14
Social Sciences in the South	...	41

EDITORIAL

SOME HIGHLIGHTS

Agriculture in the State

Coffee and food grains production, particularly rice, have registered sharp increases for 1970-71. The coffee production of 1.1 lakh tonnes has brought down the price by 15 per cent and made possible a 50 thousand ton export, earning Rs. 30 crores. Food grains production has gone over 72 lakhs tonnes, including over 53 lakhs tonnes of rice. Similar gains are registered in millets. For both crops the increases are due to the use of high yielding varieties over larger area. Against the target of 37.5 lakh acres for paddy and 2.5 lakh acres for millets, 45 lakh acres and 2.85 were actually brought under the high yielding varieties. This trend to increase paddy production will continue, provided the existing improved varieties are stabilised and further popularised.

Now there is need for three further developments in the Agricultural front. First a straight increase in the much needed cotton production of MCU—4 and 5 and Sujata in both wet (Thanjavur and Coimbatore) and dry areas (Salem and Ramanathapuram) by 4 lakh bales during the current year and the quick exploitation of the high variety long staple Souvin which has been developed at Coimbatore. The second pressure point is to increase rapidly pulse production all over the country, as the major vegetable protein supplier. In the South, attention should be concentrated on expanding the production of black, green and red grams using a number of short duration varieties under both wet and dry conditions. The existing crop area of 8.5 lakh acres can be increased now by 6 lakhs and doubled during the following year. Third, there is need for further adaptive research and demonstration with regard to the package of practices for the above crops, particularly in view of the soaring demand for fertilisers. From this view point, the initiatives in the State, such as the soil testing laboratory at Ooty, the adaptive research station at Kudumiamalai, the mechanised State Farm in

the Chengam Taluk of North Arcot and the proposed Agricultural Productivity Council are moves in the right direction.

The problem of land reform in Tamil Nadu has once more surfaced with the completion of the study by the Director of Tenancy Records, of the working of the Tamil Nadu Agricultural Lands Record of Tenancy Act which covers tenancies in 4395 villages of the three districts of Thanjavur, Tiruchi and Madurai. The triple aim of such Acts is to give security to the tenant, to assure him an adequate share of his product and help him increase his production. The interim Act of 1956 which has been extended from time to time has not achieved any of the aims and some question of its relevance is also raised. Tamil Nadu shares with Punjab and Haryana the highest percentage (40) of households without land and over 50 per cent having less than 0.5 acres and 88 per cent having nothing to less than 5 acres. The study shows that the same high percentage was under owner cultivation (80 to 85 per cent). Hence the problem is not one of tenancy records, lease documents or legal rights. New machinery and legislation are needed to deal comprehensively with the whole problem of land reform, with the aim of giving the cultivator real rights of ownership, adequate inputs, of credit, fertilizers and regulated markets and an equitable distribution of his product.

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Nutrition Plan for Tamil Nadu

A comprehensive Nutrition Plan for Tamil Nadu is being developed by Central and State Governments with the help of the United States Agency for International Development. The U. N. Protein Advisory Group has pointed out that 20 per cent of pre school children in the third world suffer from protein malnutrition and about 12 million are facing death. Its three-point strategy for filling the protein gap is being applied in the Tamil Nadu project. The Nutrition Plan's target population is pre-school children and pregnant and lactating mothers in the State. Its aim is to identify the current nutritional gap in this target population and develop a "System" to eliminate this gap. As part of this overall system of the complete chain of food production, processing and delivery, cultural, social, environmental, economic and governmental influences involved, a study of the consumer expenditure and food habits

in Tamil Nadu is being undertaken by the Indian Institute of Public Opinion, New Delhi through its branch office in Madras. Starting in June, the 15 month study will cover a sample of some three thousand house-holds in the rural and urban areas and the different food zones. The Madras Institute of Development Studies is acting as honorary adviser to the project.

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Industrial Progress

Aluminium consumption, due to increased engineering activity and rural electrification is rapidly increasing from 1.41 lakh tonnes in 1969 to 1.78 lakhs in 1970 and is expected to reach 2.75 lakhs in 1971—Indian Aluminium and Hindustan Aluminium are planning to move up to capacity and expand their facilities. Madras Aluminium must rapidly expand its capacity from the present 12 thousand tonnes to 18 thousand tonnes. to meet this rising demand, particularly as it does not face the power bottlenecks of the other companies. Another expanding area is that of fertilizers for which the demand as noted earlier is increasing quickly. In the South generally vigorous expansion of the fertilizer industry is being planned. Madras Fertilisers, Manali, should be starting production this month after rather long delays, with an annual output of 750 thousand tonnes. Fertilisers and Chemicals, Travancore, Coromandel Fertilisers and EID Parry should expand their production facilities rapidly. In the case of Neyveli and FACT, there is at last the chance of their working up to full capacity, of modernising their plants and of beginning to earn their way. Another unit which should be expanded is DDT production which is now limited to meeting the demands of public health. The Cochin and Delhi plants with the production capacity of 4 thousand tonnes are doing well and claim part credit for extending life expectancy from 32 to 50 and saving two million mandays of work. The agricultural demand for the product is urgent and is at present unmet. The State might enter this production field, as it has successfully done with the production of modern rice mills.

The Report of the Central Power Committee raises once more, the need for a long term power policy for the country. This is one area where the State is not the rational unit of operation. The first

element in such a policy is the need for increased capacity to meet the growth programmes and targets of the country. By 2000 A.D. the country must achieve a 200 million KW capacity, with 52 million KW by 1980-81, including 4 thousand M.W. of nuclear capacity—We are currently lagging behind these targets. The second element is the need for regional arrangements. Power scarcities in some states co-exist with surplus in others. Here, limited investment in transmission and distribution lines has a higher pay off than expanding capacity. In this respect Tamil Nadu and the Southern region are a good example. The State has a power deficit and draws on the surplus capacity of its neighbours, Mysore and Kerala. The case for regional grids and ultimately of a national grid is as strong as the case for power expansion. Finally unlike the suggestions in the committee's report, there is no case for choosing between the various sources of power—thermal, hydel or nuclear—provided they are competitive.

The problems faced by the Sugar Mills in the South in the matter of Stocks (Rs. 1·5 crores being idle in just one factory), in levy prices and differential excise duties continue to dog the industry. The problems of unusual capacity in the Heavy Engineering Corporation (75 per cent) and the lack of improvements in the five major steel units are now being looked into. In addition to its other delaying problems, the Salem Steel Plant faces new issues of its limestone supplies which are likely to delay further its production schedule. The difficulties of the Cycle Industry in the State as an offshoot of Steel and Nickel shortages are vividly brought out in the Annual Report of Tube Investments, Madras.

The spurt in the country's exports for 1970-71 which is above the 7 per cent target and the planned increase to 10 per cent in the current year may be inadequate in view of the change (revalued and floating) in exchange parities in Europe. The country may have to make an even stronger export showing to avoid widening the trade gap.

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Census Results : Population of India and Tamil Nadu

The census results are in. As of 1st April 1971 our population stood at 546,955,945 of which 283,055,989 were males and 263,899,598

females. The literacy rate increased from 24.03 per cent in 1961 to 29.35 per cent in 1971. The population of Tamil Nadu on April 1 was 41,103,125 involving an accelerated growth from 11.85 per cent in 1951-61 to 22.01 per cent. The literacy rate is 39 per cent compared to 31.4 per cent in 1961. (There is some slippage in the State's literacy growth). The male population was 20,772,549 and female 20,330,576. Madras with a population of 2,470,288 registered a 42.86 per cent increase—the highest for any unit in the State.

* * *

Unemployment Action

The Central Government's 6 point programme aimed at reducing rural unemployment cover the following :

- Small farmers' programme aimed at 2.5 million farmers at a cost of Rs. 75 crores
- Marginal farmers' programme aimed at 800 thousand farmers at a cost of Rs. 40 crores
- Dry farmers' programme aimed at 15 thousand farmers at a cost of Rs. 5 crores
- Drought areas programme aimed at 2.5 million workers at a cost of 100 crores
- Rural works programme aimed at one million workers at a cost of Rs. 52 crores
- Agro-Service centres employing 5 to 10 engineers and technicians each at a cost of Rs. 50 thousand to Rs. 2 lakhs each.

Together they involve an annual expenditure of Rs. 70 crores. All these six schemes are at varying stages of formulation, approval and initiation in Tamil Nadu. Two steps are needed to make this programme effective in terms of employment creation, production growth and income generation. First there is need to speed up the procedures for project formulation and approval so that within a month of the start of the fiscal year, the projects may go into operation. Secondly the working of these projects must be carefully watched this year so that before the end of the Fourth Plan Period we may move to a ten-fold increase in this job oriented production effort. By 1975 we should reach a level of expenditure of Rs. 1000

crores per annum in this programme, about half of which would be financed from the emerging food surplus of the country.

An interesting initiative for University students completing their studies this year is the six weeks information gallery being organised by Madras University with the help of various governmental and private agencies to advise graduate students on further professional courses, scholarships, employment prospects, including self employment aid from the Small Scale Industries Department. The success of this initiative in face of the growing educated unemployed in the State calls for a concerted effort by governmental agencies, business and private employers and parents.

* * *

Educational Perspectives

The Technical Teachers Training Institute of the Southern Region Madras completed between January and April six short term courses for the 70 Principals of the Polytechnics of the four Southern States. The courses were concentrated on Modern Educational Practices and were quality improvement exercises involving modern and balanced curricula, redesigned courses, and reoriented relations with industries. Two results of this programme have been the decision of the Principals to launch follow up action in each of the colleges in order to motivate teachers to adopt new techniques and better students study habits. A second decision is for the Teacher Training Institute to run such crash programmes for all polytechnic teachers, starting with the heads of sections. It may well be that through the new relations being developed with neighbouring industries and as a result of their involvement in Technology, a beginning may be made through the polytechnics in breaching our educational barrenness and adopting educational technology in our educational system as a whole.

The Government of Spain with the help of Unesco organised an international seminar on Educational Perspectives from April 12th to 17th at Madrid. The seminar's patron was H.R.H. Prince Don Carlos and the President, the Minister and Deputy Minister of Education of Spain. Spain was the ideal host for this meeting because its intellectual and political leaders, including the Chief of State, the National Centre for Educational Development, its 15 universities and their

Institutes of Educational Sciences are engaged in the most comprehensive programme of studies on the prospect in 2000 A.D. for Spain and the World. Thirty educators, economists, scientists and administrators from U.A.R., France, Italy, U.S.A., Belgium, Sweden, Ecuador, U.K., Thailand and India (Dr. Malcolm S. Adiseshiah was a participant) joined over one hundred Spanish specialists in suggesting the main guidelines for education and society in the year 2000.

— By 2000 A.D. Europe and North America will have moved from the industrial to the post-industrial society, from a society of production to a society of consumption, from a society of striving to a society of knowledge.

— At that time, India and the developing world will be about half way through in their struggle to lift the living standards of the poorer 60 per cent of their peoples. They will move from a society of gross insufficiency to a society of less insufficiency.

— By 2000 A.D. technology and science will be the dominant social instrument in both types of society, involving possibilities of increased and more devastating wars, more discriminations and inequalities within the country and between countries, more serious imbalances between men and the biosphere and the dehumanization of society generally.

— By 2000 A.D., the one constant in every society is man and his indomitable, crying and insistent ideals of nationality, charity, justice, inventiveness, truth, beauty and goodness. He will have the new technology at his disposal to turn these imperatives into daily realisations and concrete expressions.

— In the light of this futuristic portrayal of men and society in 2000 A.D., Education occupies a unique place as the link between man and his goal and society and its inexorable development.

— Education is the instrument by which man can control and influence the shape of things to come in 2000 A.D. It makes him the master of his destiny not the product or plaything, the kismet and karma of predeterminated forces.

— Education will in the developed countries educate its youth and citizens in the terrors of war in order to ward off final catastrophe. It will in all countries educate its pupils in charity, interdependence and team spirit to counter the trends in increased discrimination and inequalities.

— Education will in India and in the developing countries train students and adults, in entrepreneurship and management qualities

—both in the specialised educational techniques of top management education and in the broader sense of the whole educational system developing in the children and adults attitudes of inventiveness, innovation, decision making and imagination. It will not continue the present hierarchical, linear, knowledge and information acquiring and repeating system.

— Such education will be imparted and acquired in the school and the market place, in the college and the factory in the research institute and the farm and the home. "Schools without walls," "The University of the air," "working places also being centres of research and reflection" are pointers to the education system in 2000 A D. being life-long permanent learning and teaching experiences which will characterise all social, political and cultural life and institutions.

— The educational system will be using the technologies of the computer, the programmed texts, the various information circuits, micro-teaching and group dynamics as an important adjunct to the teacher and resources of the student. Technology which has swept all of life, has been so far kept out of education. Educational technology should now be the subject of investigation and adaptation so that by 2000 it will be in full use both as a means of providing all men with the education they demand and deserve and as a means of transmitting and realising humanist values. For countries like India, this means that instead of continuing with the classical educational models of industrialised countries—slowly, painfully and not very successfully expanding the existing inefficient and costly educational system, through making primary education universal, expanding and reorienting secondary and university education and going on with making adults literate;—they can move straight into the system of life-long and permanent education, which using all technologies and techniques will organise systems of teaching and learning throughout Society, following each individual's path and directed to the goals of increased production, distributive justice and personality fulfilment. The problem for countries like India is where to start and how to make a gentle and smooth transition from the present slow linear educational expansion to one of quick and effective education. There are various alternatives which must be studied and experimented with.

— And so it is necessary for each country to set up a National Institute of prospective studies as an autonomous body responsible to Parliament, in order to (a) promote in the Universities and Research Institutions prospective studies, (b) finance and coordinate the studies, particularly indicating to the universities the

gaps in research that need to be filled, (c) ensure a wide participation of people through the involvement of all educational programmes including courses on futurology and organising seminars and discussion groups on it; (d) make effective use of the studies in the annual budget and the five year plans.

Social Welfare Day in Tamil Nadu was celebrated at Aachen House, on Saturday, 1st May. A symposium was organised on the subject: "Education as an instrument of Social change." The main point made was similar to the Madrid conclusion, namely the need for reforming and reorienting our educational system so that it can make a contribution both to increasing production and distributive justice. Mrs. Mary Clubwalla Jadhav is the inspiration to the many sided activities associated with social welfare and the Guild of Service in the State.

The Association of Tamil authors of Children's Books celebrated its anniversary on May 15th at the Christian Arts School Hall. During its two decades, one thousand children's books in Tamil have been published, stories and science forming the major emphasis. The Association, which owes its origin and functioning to the faith and work of its chairman Mr. Valliappa, has encouraged young writers and artists and organised training courses, seminars, prizes and exhibitions. At its anniversary meeting, it decided to formulate a special programme of children's books during 1972 which Unesco has proclaimed as the International Book Year. The meeting concluded with an enjoyable and stimulating competition among young Tamil poets.

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Workshop on Economic Research Methodology

The six week workshop on Research Methodology in Economics organised by the Madras Institute of Development Studies with the co-operation of the Indian Council of Social Science Research opened on May 3rd in the Madras Christian College Post Graduate Hall. Is is attended by 35 Economics Ph.D. students and staff from the ten Universities of the four Southern States of Andhra, Kerala, Mysore and Tamil Nadu and is aided by Dr. C. T. Kurien-Professor of Economics, Madras Christian College and six Economists from Delhi, Osmania, Calcutta and Madras acting as resource personnel. The participants and their research specialities are :

K. Chenchi Reddy, Andhra University: Role of Exports in India's Economic Development.

K. Sivaprasad, Andhra University: Efficiency and Expansion in the Public Sector.

D. M. Jeelani, Andhra University: Andhra Pradesh Public Debt.

K. Dakshinamoorthy, Annamalai University: Impact of Land Reforms on the Agrarian Structure of Thanjavur District.

D. T. Nanje Gowda, Bangalore University: Inter Governmental Financial Relations in India.

B. B. Kanabi, Karnatak University: Contribution of Development Banks to Industrial Growth.

M. G. Kodli, Karnatak University: Pricing and Financial Aspects of Petroleum Industry of India.

N. S. Hirenath, Karnatak University: Economic Planning and Development in Mysore State.

M. A. Adoni, Karnatak Univeristy: Labour Absenteeism in selected industries of Mysore State.

Umarani Karnatak University: Some Aspects of Foreign Trade.

K. Annammal (Miss). Kerala University: Technological Change and its diffusion in Agriculture—a case study of Kerala.

Grace Sunny (Mrs.) Kerala University. The problem of Unemployment—a case study of Kerala.

M. Kuttappan, Kerala University: Role of Cocoanut in the Economy of Kerala.

T. V. Narayana Kurup, Kerala University: Cost of Agricultural Credit in India.

S. Thomas, Kerala University: A comparative study of industrial estates in Kerala and Madras.

Indira Ranganathan (Mrs.) Madras University: Economic Development.

D. Thirunillai (Miss) Madras University: Economic Development and Finance in India.

Rukmani Ramachandran (Miss) Madras University: Agricultural Economics.

P. Rengaswami, Madras University: Viability of Small Scale Industries.

A. S. Ramaswamy, Madras University: Agro-industrial Integration in Coimbatore District.

Sadashivaiah, Mysore University: Agricultural Development and Co-operative Finance in Mysore State.

H. Venkateswara Rao, Osmania University: Long Term Educational Plan for India.

N. D. Nandedkar, Osmania University: Germs of Modern Theories of Economic Growth in Ricardo and Marx.

K. Seshagiri Rao, Osmania University: Role of Heavy Industry Output Conserving Industries.

M. Narasimhalu, Osmania University: Fiscal Policy for Planned Development.

T. Surya Narayana Rao, Osmania University: Indian Poverty: A Colonial Model—A study of pre-independence Economic Thinkers.

M. V. Satchitanandam, Madurai University: Theory of Consumption.

R. Rengasamy, Madurai University, Decentralisation of Production on Gandhian Lines in the Madurai University Area.

K. Venkata Reddi, Venkateswara University: Agricultural Productivity in Andhra Pradesh.

V. Kumaraswami Naidu, Venkateswara University, Some aspects of Urbanisation of Thirupathi.

Staff Supervisors

Dr. G. Raghava Reddi, Venkateswara University.
Dr. E. T. Matthew, Kerala University.
Dr. M. Nagaraja Rao, Osmania University.
Dr. V. Shanmugasundaram, Madras University.
Dr. O. R. Krishnaswamy, Madras University.

During the first week the workshop reviewed certain basic research methodology issue: What is Economic Research? Identification of a Research Problem, Use of National Sample Survey and Census, Historical Method, Research Design and Model Building, Process of Conceptualisation. Each day's discussion produced for each participant an assignment for work during the afternoon and for presentation the following day. During the second week the discussion and review of the methodology used in the research thesis of each participant was begun. During this week Dr. N. S. Iyengar, Osmania University acted as a resource person. Each

participant's continuing assignment for the remaining five weeks was also decided.

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Seminar on Consumer/User Oriented Research.

The Madras Institute of Development Studies in co-operation with the University of Madras and the Indian Council of Social Science Research is preparing a seminar to be held in the University Buildings, Madras University on Consumer/User Oriented Research from September 17 to 19. A great deal of Social Science Research in Tamil Nadu is unused by its potential consumers who are (a) the managers of public sector undertakings, (b) businessmen and organisers in the private sector, (c) leaders in the co-operative and small industry area and (d) Secretaries of the Government departments, such as industry, agriculture, health and family planning, rural development and education. This gap between research producers and consumers may be due to (a) ignorance on either side of what is available or needed, (b) irrelevance of the research currently under way in relation to the needs and priorities of the users or (c) the inapplicability of the research results to concrete situations facing the consumers. In view of the three years still left of the Fourth Five Year Plan, some corrective of the situation might be attempted for Tamil Nadu.

The seminar will bring together ten research consumers and some twenty to twenty five research specialists. It will aim at understanding the research needs and problems of utilisation faced by the users in the public and private sectors and State administration and in light of such consideration and the three years left in the Tamil Nadu sector of the Fourth Five Year Plan, draft a programme of research priorities for the years 1971-74 to guide the research specialists in three universities and the Institutions in their research work. The agreed research programme will still leave intact the universities, main responsibility for fundamental research. It is also hoped that such a programme will be more directly utilisable by the users and that the two groups will continue their contact over the three years period.

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May Madras Development Seminar

The May Seminar paper, "A Sociological Approach to Economic Development" by Dr. C. M. Abraham, Reader in Sociology, University of Madras followed by a summary of the discussion of the paper in the seminar appears as the main article in this issue of the bulletin.

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A Second Article

A Second Article on "Social Sciences in the South" also appears in this issue.

A SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

By

DR. C. M. ABRAHAM

Reader in Sociology, University of Madras.

Economic Development, in reality, is a process of social change. In this sense, it is a continuous process in history. Societies have changed and are continuing to change from rural to urban; agricultural to industrial; subsistence economy to self-sustaining economy or in short from traditional to modern. But sustained economic growth is a relatively new phenomenon dating back to little over a century and a half. Of late the pace of economic progress has been accelerated in the technologically advanced countries of the world beyond man's wildest dreams. "Until the eighteenth century national income increased yearly at a rate of less than 1 per cent and the income per head remained almost stationary. In the eighteenth century there was an acceleration of growth to between 1 and 1½ per cent per annum; it was the *horse-and-buggy* speed of economic development. Following the Industrial Revolution throughout the nineteenth century and in fact until the outbreak of World War II, a marked acceleration took place in industrialization and in economic growth, reaching the classical rate of around 3 per cent per annum. That was the *railway speed* of economic development. After World War II and in the nineteen fifties in many-but primarily the rich—parts of the world, a further marked acceleration took place and the rate of growth reached 5 per cent per annum; it was the *airplane speed* of economic development." (Paul N. Rosenstein-Rodan. "The Modernization of Industry" in Modernization: The Dynamics of Growth. Voice of America Forum Lectures. Higginbothams (P) Ltd., Madras. 1967 pp. 312—313).

The spectacular achievements of today forces us to label the present century as the 'Magic World' of science and technology. The technologically advanced countries compete not only for transforming this world into a glorified heaven, but also to master the outerspace and even the planets, including the moon. This quest for development and progress is unprecedented in history. It is fired by the rising expectation to excel and motivated by the faith in science and technology which make possible the forward movement of man by leaps and bounds, instead of steps. The advanced nations commitment to growth and modernization has brought about this alarming progress in such breath-taking rapidity. National income began to increase rapidly and persistently. The kind of enormous achievements which might have taken centuries to accomplish is now being achieved in a matter of years.

The most significant fact of the post-war world is the attainment of political independence and the wide-spread desire for economic development in a number of under-developed countries. The realization among the rich nations that "poverty anywhere constitutes a threat to prosperity everywhere" made its dramatic entry also in the immediate post 1945 years. The affluent societies instead of viewing the plight of the poor countries and their masses as somehow inevitable, began to be much more concerned about the basic situation that prevails in backward countries. The United Nations inaugurated the 'Development Decade' in 1961 and with the beginning of the nineteen seventies it has entered the 'Second Decade' of the world development. It has aimed at helping the under-developed nations to achieve economic growth rapidly and persistently, so that the gap between the rich and the poor countries could be bridged at an increasing speed.

In under-developed countries interest in economic development is comparatively recent and perhaps, may be regarded as one of the by-products of World War II. Today almost all poor nations are development-minded. They are keenly aware of the enormous and increasing gap in their living standards and are demanding rapid economic betterment. The leaders of these countries have accepted 'development' and 'modernization' as the slogans to free the masses from poverty and its vicious circle. They are exhorting their masses who were for centuries saddled with superstition and ignorance and very largely resigned to their fate, to take up the responsibility of

shaping their future by bringing about a self-reliant and self-generating economy. Though economic development today has become a subject more widely discussed and more earnestly sought for than ever before in these countries, many of them are hitherto unable to make an effective break-through in their march toward advancement. While the developed countries move forward in an amazing way, developing countries move very slowly or sporadically, inspite of their best efforts.

It is the phenomenon of rapid and persistent economic growth that is central to the field of economic development. Now, here arises the question what are the factors which bring about rapid and persistent economic growth? and what are the factors which stand in the way of such progress? or why have some countries moved forward with breath-taking rapidity? for instance, How could Germany rise from the ashes in a decade or How could Japan achieve its miraculous progress within a short period? and why other developing countries have not expressed growth but stagnation or even decay?

Before embarking on a discussion of the question—What are the factors which stand in the way of rapid and persistent economic progress in most of the under-developed countries of the world let us turn our attention to an understanding of the concepts 'under developed', 'development', 'economic growth' and economic development'.

What is meant by Under-Development?

Economists usually divide the countries in the world into two categories—developed and under-developed. The technologically backward countries in Asia, Africa, the Middle-East and Latin America are often referred to as under-developed. The impropriety of the term is quite evident. Actually countries differ from each other in many respects. Some may have a glorious past of which they are very proud, but its people may be drowned in superstition and chained by customs and taboos. Some others may be blessed with a variety of natural resources, yet poverty is rampant among the masses. The use of the term under-developed is not to disparage the countries on the basis of any single yardstick, but refers to the absence of modern infrastructure and its corresponding social superstructure. In general there are some characteristics which can be observed as more or less common to the majority of the under-deve-

loped areas. Harvey Leibenstein in his Economic Backwardness and Economic Growth (New York: Wiley, 1959, pp. 11-21) classifies these into the following categories:

Economic : A high proportion of population in agriculture (70—90 per cent), disguised unemployment, little capital per head, practically zero savings for the mass of population, high proportion of expenditure on food, low volume of trade per capita, poor credit facilities.

Demographic and health characteristics : High fertility and mortality rates, dietary deficiencies, poor health, inadequate health.

Technological characteristics : Low land productivity, crude technology, inefficient communication, inefficient transportation etc.,

Cultural and political characteristics : A high degree of illiteracy, prevalence of child labour, absence of middle class, traditional values, inferior status of women etc.

Walter Krause defines an under-developed country as one that on the average affords its inhabitants an end product of consumption and material well-being inferior to that being provided in developed countries. Conversely a developed country becomes one that affords an economic and product superior to that of the under-developed countries. (Economic Development : The Under-developed World and The American Interest; Belmont, California : Wadsworth Publishing Co. Second Printing, June 1962, P. 6)

Thus the term under-developed or backward or developing, implies a relative status and takes on meaning as comparisons are made among countries even though such comparisons are elusive when applied internationally or cross-culturally or temporally. Under-developed regions are relatively easy to recognise, but there is no absolute rule as to the precise dividing line between under-developed and developed. "One arbitrary or a rule of thumb method used by economists is to regard a country as under-developed whose per-capita income is no greater than one-fourth that of the highest income country." (Walter Krause, Ibid, p. 7). The degree of industrialization and the ratio of the total labour force employed in industry are other criteria often used for classifying countries as developed and under developed. Though useful, these indicators

are not analytically reliable measures of economic progress. The occupational distribution of the labour force may provide some insight as to the path through which an economy has been evolving but it is not sufficient to indicate a country's level of economic development. (Pepelasis, Mears and Adelman. Economic Development: Analysis and Case Studies: New York: Harper & Row, 1961, p. 4).

The Concept of Development

All over the world there is a universal demand for development. Development in its broadest sense means " the liberation of people from the various forces that constrict and stifle from their human existence, so that they are free to grow to fulness." (Religion and Society. Vol. XVII. No. 2. June 1970). His Holiness Pope Paul VI suggests that development should not be limited to mere economic growth. He writes in his encyclical that development in order to be authentic must be complete. It has to promise *The good of every man and the whole man.* Thus development means the creation of a new social, economic, political and religious order in which each person and group of persons must be able to live in peace and harmony and must be assured of social and economic justice—a social, political and religious system in which man will be related and where he will have the freedom to exercise his right to participation in the economic productivity and the use of it. A Development plan in fact must be a continuous or an on-going one and it cannot be projected only on the economic and technological levels, it must encompass the whole range of social institutions and customs as well as questions of national consciousness, identity, motivation and value systems.

Samuel L. Parmar points out that in a fundamental sense, the central goal of development may be called self-development. Up to a point this would correspond to the concept of self-sustaining growth and self-reliance, but these are essentially economic concepts. Self-reliance means the ability of a country to maintain a desired rate of growth through its resources. Self-development does not mean only a high rate of growth. It also implies a more equitable distribution of resources and economic power and new relationship between social groups, so that development of one does not depend upon or lead to deprivation of the other. Social Justice

reflected in a greater equality of opportunity, a more egalitarian social order, a diffusion of economic and political power from the few to the many, is the important element of social development. Social justice is emphasized by Parmar as the over-arching goal of development within which the two other important goals economic growth and self-reliance, should be integrated. (Samuel L. Parmar. Goals and Process of Development.)

Y. B. Chavan, Union Finance Minister, in his inaugural address to the two day all India convention of the Congress Forum for Socialist Action at Children's Theatre in Madras on October 3, 1970, said that the economic strategy for the seventies must include a sound income and wealth policy related to socio-economic compulsions of a society undergoing total transformation. He continued, it would have to be clearly understood that growth or development was not merely an economic concept, but had an important social and human connotation. Even in advanced capitalist countries the importance of social justice was being increasingly realised. Unless accelerated economic growth was accompanied by social justice and well-being of the neglected and weaker sections of the society the affluence of a small section would be difficult to sustain and would crumble under its own weight.

Thus development must have a humanizing effect to give substance and meaning to the hundreds of millions of human beings who have long been denied the means to achieve a better, purposeful and meaningful life—a life where the individual is set free in an atmosphere of opportunity, dignity and justice.

In the words of Leopold Laufer, "Development means dams, and factories, roads and canals, bush-clearing, electrification, soil improvement, universities, secondary schools, primary schools, sanitation, research and a multitude of other activities and achievements. But above all, development means people......the preparation and activation of people in the cause of economic and social development." (Israel and the Developing Countries: New Approach to corporations: New York. Twentieth Century Fund. 1967. p. 69.)

The important objective of development is not only to improve the level of living of the people so that they may be able to lead a decent life, but to bring about the very transformation of the nature

of man—a transformation that is not a means to the end of yet greater growth and at the same time one of the great ends itself of the development process. Alex Inkeles states that the characteristic mark of the modern man or the developed man has two parts ;—one internal and the other external. One dealing with his attitudes, values and feelings; the other with his environment. He summarises the environmental or external conditions to make the modern man by reference to a series of key terms such as urbanization, education, mass communication, industrialization, politicization. etc. Among the internal attributes Inkeles lists the following :—a disposition to accept new ideas and try new methods; a readiness to express opinions; a time sense that makes men more interested in the present and future than in the past; a better sense of punctuality; a greater concern for planning, organization and efficiency; a tendency to see the world as calculable; a faith in science and technology; a sense of dignity; a more democratic spirit and finally a belief in distributive justice. These attributes seem to be intimately related to the individual's successful adjustment as a citizen of a modern developed nation. They are qualities that will contribute to making a man a more productive worker in his factory; a more effective citizen in the society; a more satisfied and satisfying person. (Alex Inkeles. "The Modernization of Man" in Modernization: The Dynamics of Growth, Voice of America Forum Lectures; Madras, Higginbothams (P) Ltd. 1967. pp. 158–164).

Anyhow, in the frame work of development, economic growth has a very important role to play. In a world where millions and millions of people are leading a degraded life of existence, it is the most pertinent and urgent issue. In other words for the majority of people in the under-developed world, development is concerned with the improvement in their levels of living. In its turn, economic development can help to build a just society.

Economic Growth and Economic Development

For the average person the term economic development refers simply to the achievement by poor countries of higher levels of real per-capita income, i.e. achievement of an environment more like that already prevailing in developed countries. However, the term also has a technical meaning which differs in important respects from the foregoing popular impression of the matter. In the technical

sense economic development refers to a process of economic growth within an economy, the central objective of the process being higher and rising real-capita income for the economy (with the benefits of this higher and rising income being widely diffused within the economy). (Walter Krause. P. 28.)

Some economists use the two terms—economic growth and economic development—synonymously. Some others make a distinction between the two. Charles P. Kindleberger writes that economic growth means more output and economic development implies both more output and changes in the technical and institutional arrangements by whieh it is produced. Growth may well imply not only more output but also more inputs and more efficiency i.e. an increase in output per unit of input. Development goes beyond these to imply changes in the structure of outputs and the allocation of inputs by sectors. By analogy with the human being to stress growth involves focussing on height or weight, while to emphasize development draws attention to the change in functional capacity—in physical co-ordination or learning capacity. (Economic Development. New York: McGraw Hill, 1965, P. 3).

Economic development of a country is, in fact, closely linked with a broad range of human life. Economic achievement is, for example directly tied to the spirit of industry and entrepreneurship of a people and the nature of policies of their government; more indirectly, it is related to the ability to organise education, the capacity to generate and transmit knowledge and the sophistication in relating scientific imagination to the technological innovations. Clearly, the rate of economic growth of a society reflects something more than just economic reality, but what exactly the "more" is remains hard to tell. (Lucian W. Pye. "The International Gap" in Modernization: The Dynamics of Growth. The Voice of America Forum lectures. Madras; Higginbothams (P) Ltd. 1967. P. 391.)

Test in Determining Economic Growth

So far the essential test that is applied in determining whether or not economic growth is occurring is done in terms of the familiar national accounting variables expressed in monetary terms such as the Gross National Product (GNP) or consumption per head. But international comparisons of income per-capita may prove deceptive

and is beset by many difficulties. Dr. Malcolm S. Adiseshiah, in his Presidential Address to the Southern India Chambers of Commerce and Industry Economic Conference held in Madras on 30th January 1971, points out the admitted limitations of the GNP measure. He stresses that the most obvious ones result from imperfect or non-existent statistics which make GNP estimates guestimates. He continues that a second limitation arises from the problems of translating per-capita money income into per-capita real income in which all sorts of variables social, cultural and environmental must be taken as given. A third problem pointed out by him is that the measure can only deal with averages and these averages are notoriously non-existent. Lastly he brings out the fact that per-capita measure is only a part of a larger mix, which all of us are familiar with and which we call levels of living. The United Nations Report on International Definition and Measurement of Standards and Levels of Living (U. N. Publication. Sale No. 54. IV. 5. 1954) based on a meeting of experts held in 1953 and followed up in 1961 by an Inter-agency revision entitled " International Definition and Measurement of Levels of Living: An Interim Guide (U.N. Publication. Sale No. 61. IV. 7. 1961) lists the components which make up the levels of living. The original list of components contained 12 items : --

1. Health including demographic conditions.
2. Food and nutrition.
3. Education including literacy and skills.
4. Conditions of work.
5. Employment situation.
6. Aggregate consumption and saving.
7. Transportation.
8. Housing including household facilities.
9. Clothing.
10. Recreation and entertainment.
11. Social security and
12. Human freedom.

The 1961 revision eliminated transportation (on grounds that much transportation was a social cost) and aggregate consumption and savings (on grounds that these were macro economic indicators, not direct measures of levels of living).

Samuel L. Parmar further points out the dangers in making economic growth the only measure of progress. First of all it reduces development to a purely economic phenomenon. Secondly it assumes that injection of sufficient resources like capital, techniques and so forth will by itself bring about development. Resources can give results only if adequate institutions are set up for utilising them. If all these have to be done, it calls for rational structural changes. Thirdly it presents a yardstick for measuring development that dooms most developing countries to permanent poverty. He cites the example of India. According to certain projections, in the year 2000, even if the advance is plus five per cent per annum, the rate of growth will be poorer in comparison to developed nations than it is today. The present 1:60 ratio per capita incomes of India and the U. S. A. may then be in the region of 1:100. Instead of catching up we will be stumbling far behind. It almost amounts to saying that the harder a nation works the poorer it will be in a relative sense. Knowing this, Parmar suggests that it would be suicidal for us to make economic growth the only measure of progress. Due to the technological and demographic gaps, it is almost certain that the distance between developed and developing nations will remain and even widen for a long time to come. (Samuel L. Parmar. "Goals and Process of Development." in, In Search of Social Justice: An Asian Forum on Development. Tokyo-Japan. pp. 2-3). The aforementioned point is amply brought out by the study entitled "And Miles to Go" comparing the progress made by India in the last 20 years after independence with that of 27 countries, by the Economic and Scientific Research Foundation attached to the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The report says that India is 44 years behind Japan in 1968 and 20 years behind Brazil. The gap between India and Japan was only 29 years in 1948, but the "incredible speed of Japan's economic growth since then has widened it." (A recent statistics shows that Japan remained the second largest economic force in the non-Communist World in 1969 and its per capita income advanced from the 19th to 16th place in world ranking with a total gross national product of 174 billions (Rs. 1,30,500 crores). Japan is 2nd only to the U.S. in the non-communist world and 3rd in world ranking after the Soviet Union. Annual income per head reached $. 1,334 (Rs. 10,005) a growth of some $. 45 over 1968. This figure indicates that the

Japanese live better than the Italian (ranking 17th with \$. 1,149) and almost as good as the British (14th with \$.1,446).

On per capita income, the study entitled "And Miles to Go" points out that if India's per capita income grows at an average annual rate of 1.6 per cent. i.e. the average rate obtained during 1950-60, which is higher than the average rate of the sixties, then India will take 63 years for reaching Philippines 1963 level; 83 years for Portugal's; 142 years for Italy's; 176 years for U.K.'s and 218 years for U.S.A.'s level. If India is able to increase its pace of economic development in the future so that its per capita real income increases by 3.2 per cent per annum, then the number of years required by it to reach the 1963 level of the per capita income of the Philippines, Portugal, Italy, U.K. and U.S.A. is 32, 42, 72, 89 and 110 years respectively. To achieve an average long term growth rate of per capita income of 3.2 per cent per annum, India's economy will have to grow on the average of 5.3 per cent per annum in the long run. The growth rate of per capita income required to catch up with Italy's (the lowest income country of Industrial Western Europe) 1963 per capita level by 2000 A.D. is 6.3 per cent, since Italy's per capita income is 9.54 times that of India. To achieve an average rate of growth of 6.3 per cent per annum in per capita income the Indian economy will have to grow at the tremendous rate of 8.4 per cent per annum. (The Hindu, Monday, February 23, 1970. p. 9).

Samuel L. Parmar after pointing out the dangers in making economic growth as the only measure of progress, suggests that we have to evolve a concept of development which will give us a sense of equality and dignity even with relative poverty. (He pleads that the pre-occupation with the widening gap between the rich and the poor nations has to be given up. Each developing nation is really competing with itself. Hence, its present performance should be an improvement upon its earlier performance. In the process if it comes nearer to developed nations well and good. But even if it lags behind, that should not be taken as lack of development.)

The Process of Economic Development

Economic development is not an automatic process. It is basically the result of human effort. It .takes human agents to mobilise capital, to exploit natural resources, to create markets, to

carry on trade etc. It also requires human resource development. Human resource development is the process of increasing the knowledge, the skills and the capacities of the people in a society. Hence, in short, the problem of economic development is the problem of implementation of progress through the preparation and activation of people.

Economic development does not occur in a vacuum. It is a social activity. It always takes place within a social system. A social system in its totality consists of a vast complex of knowledge, beliefs, techniques, roles, values, ideologies, attitudes, customs, rituals and symbols that inter-lock to form a mutually re-inforcing and supporting system. Such a system is designated as an institution and the institutions help or hamper the economic growth of a country. The habits of the people, for instance, may encourage or act as obstacles to the growth of capital. In societies where thrift is considered a virtue or where the people are in the habit of keeping aside a part of their earnings for the rainy day or for old age, there the supply of funds available for capital formation tends to be greater. But the chance for a high rate of savings and investment might be bleak because of the habit of the people to indulge in 'conspicuous consumption'. In such countries people are known to spend themselves poor. Likewise the mere accumulation of wealth, however great, remain as a passive asset to economic development, unless there are socio-cultural forces which press the accumulated wealth into productive investments. Again the presence of rich and useful natural resources will not by itself foster economic advancement. The sheer numbers of people (human resources) will be a liability unless something motivates them to work hard with devotion and they are provided with the necessary skill and knowledge and the opportunity to put in their best. Thus the process of economic development is not a purely economic phenomenon, but more so a socio-cultural phenomenon. In reality, it is a process of social chance.

There is a close relationship between change and development. They act and react upon each other. Social changes create favourable conditions for economic growth and economic growth brings in its wake social changes. To put this fact in another way—Economic development is a function of productivity and in turn productivity is said to be a function of social structure of a community. Hence,

the efforts aiming toward economic development must take into account the social structure of the community.

Obstacles to Economic Development.

Since the time of Adam Smith, various scholars have attempted to pin-point the obstacles which inhibit the underdeveloped countries ability to develop. Yet at no time was so much attention devoted by scholars from different disciplines to the understanding of economic growth and the analysis of its different aspects as in recent years. The urgency of studying these matters arises from the greater awareness of our modern world of human privation and of human misery, together with the greater practical possibility of ameliorating certain conditions through the scientific and technological advances that are becoming available to mankind in such breath-taking rapidity. The widespread desire for rapid economic development to free the masses from the bitter struggle for survival, leads a number of backward countries to the launching of development plans with the help of science and technology and with the assistance from the rich countries. But in almost all such countries economic progress frequently lags behind expectations and this phenomenon of arrested development is receiving greater attention from all concerned—administrators, policy makers and scholars from different disciplines.

Let us take the case of India. At the end of the Third Five Year Plan, India had the most installed industry of any nation in South Asia, but its economy remained in a precarious condition. Productivity in almost every field continued to be pitifully low. India faced extreme and unusual economic difficulties due to drought and famine in 1965-66, the closing year of the Third Five Year Plan. Moreover, whatever gains made in the three Five Year Plans have been eaten up by the unprecedented population explosion. The 'revolution of rising expectations' turned to be one of gloom and despair to the masses. The periodic appraisals and assessments of the Five year plans indicated that economic development in India was not making sufficient progress as expected. The Nation's economic growth continues to be one of the lowest among all the developing countries. At present there is a plethora of uncertainty and pessimism and a spate of sad and frightening forebodings about our country's future. India, today, can be described as an economic

enigma, a country with plenty of natural and human resources which makes a serious effort to surge forward, but fails in its attempt to take the road of steady economic growth. The same is true of most of the under-developed countries.

The urgent need in the under-developed countries, thus is to understand the obstacles to economic development, so that the process of development may be made easier. The urgent need appears to be to make ourselves clear as to what each country wants and then to select the process whereby the end may be reached taking due care to see that the obstacles that may inhibit the process of development are minimised or avoided. Not only has the number of scholars interested in the analysis of economic growth increased but also their approach differs considerably from that of most of the early scholars. Firstly the new approach is rigorously empirical including in their analysis not only developing countries but also developed ones. Secondly each discipline began to look at economic development from its own expert point of view. Finally social scientists are concerned not only with how economic growth takes place but also with how it can be accelerated. One consequence is that governments, both in the developed and in the developing ones, are turning to social scientists for information and for policy guidance.

A review of the obstacles to economic development pointed out by some of the scholars would be worthwhile.

Adam Smith was interested not only in the question of why do men want and need development, he was also interested in the question, why is it that Great Britain is certainly one of the richest countries in Europe, while Spain and Portugal are perhaps the poorest? The first reason, explained by the Father of Economics, is the bad economic policy of the Spanish and Portuguese governments concerning taxes and export of gold and silver. The second reason, however, is that this bad policy is not counter-balanced "by the general liberty and security of the people." (The Wealth of Nations : New York : Modern Library Edition. pp. 508-509). Thus, Adam Smith was not unmindful of the social factors influencing economic development. But his followers did not follow his analysis. Most of them confined their explanations to data that could be incorporated in quantitative models and compared countries on the basis of their economic characteristics.

The interdependence of changes in social organisation and values and economic growth has long been recognised by social scientists. Karl Marx was one of the first to point to changes in social relations as the keystone in the theory of economic development. Karl Marx stated in clear and unmistakeable language that the origin and development of the capitalist mode of production was the outcome of the transformation of society resulting in the elevation of the bourgeoisie to the position of leading social class. The mutual integration between social-structural change and economic development has since been recognised. Since Marx's time some of his followers have frequently underlined the importance of social structure in influencing the pattern of economic change and they associated economic development with a series of social transformations which are identical with those postulated by Marx for the countries of the West.

In discussing the cause of lack of industrialization in China, Max-Weber came closer to the truth than any other scholar when he pointed out that it was the nature of Chinese human relationship with its Confucian ethics which was responsible. Weber characterised the forces which held back Chinese economic development as "irrational" forces in contrast to those "rational" forces which propelled the capitalistic history of the West. (The Religion of China. Glencoe. 111. Free Press. 1951. First published as Essays in 1915. Before his death in 1920, revised these for book publication. Present English translation is by Hans H. Gerth). Weber has pointed out how certain features of the Protestant Reformation were conducive to the expansion of technology and production. He noted that the puritan aspects of Protestantism fostered economic rationality. Such an outlook was a powerful motivation to work -work being considered as a virtue and a Christian duty. It also placed a high moral value on the material consequences of one's work. Thus it was a set of beliefs consonant with the technological innovations of industrial capitalism.

Milton Singer in his 'The Modernization of Religious Beliefs' points out that the dominant note usually struck in discussions of the relations of religion to modernization is that Asian religion is a major obstacle to modernization because it is a bulwark of traditionalism and a repository of beliefs and values incompatible with modern science, technology and the ideology of progress. "For

the various popular religions of Asia" in the words of Max-Weber, "in contrast to ascetic protestantism, the world remained a great enchanted garden in which the practical way to orient oneself or to find security in this world or the next, was to revere or coerce spirits and seek salvation through ritualistic, idolatrous, or sacramental procedures. No path led from the magical religiosity of the non-intellectual classes of Asia to a rational methodical control of life. Nor did any path lead to that methodical control from the world accommodation of Confucianism, from the world rejection of Buddhism, from the world conquest of Islam, or from the Messianic expectations and economic pariah law of Judaism." (Max-Weber. The Sociology of Religion, Boston: Beacon Press. 1964. p. 270). Other familiar examples of the social scientists' concern with social factors in the growth process are Sombart's analysis of the "spirit of capitalism" as a moving force in the rise of western industry, and Tawney's study of the impact upon economic growth of the Protestant ethic.

There is some difficulty today in leaning too heavily on the Weberian Protestant Ethic or the generalised view that religion shapes economic development. A recent book by a Swedish Economic Historian (Kurt Samualson, Religion and Economic Action (Swedish original 1957, English Translation Heinenann, London. 1961) has suggested that economic development is to be associated less with religion than with religious minority groups and that Weber mistook religious toleration of economic activity for positive inspiration of it.

Moreover, Charles P. Kindleberger says that there is little evidence that religions impose a uniform personality on a people or that religious ideas toward secular life are incapable of changing. He further points out that since World War I and especially since World War II, the Roman Catholic Church has been increasingly identified with the advance of science, the modernization of industry and the need for improvement. A strong revival of Buddhism is underway in Burma, a religion which in its earlier form emphasized asceticism, abstinence, cultivation of the spirit and alms-giving to the unproductive but numerous priesthood. In the present vein, however, closely associated with a revival of Burmese nationalism and Asian political independence, Buddhism is in a process of subtle conversion to a banner of economic advance. (Charles P. Kindleberger. Economic Development. p. 28).

Milton Singer also concludes that the most superficial observation of Asian religions today indicates that they are far from being static, massive monoliths blocking the road to progress.

Two major studies which have attempted to relate Hinduism with economic growth in India are by two economists—K.W. Kapp (1963) and V. Mishra (1962). Kapp examines certain general beliefs and the values of Hinduism such as belief in rebirth and law of karma cosmic (causation), in order to show their significance for economic development. He states that the belief in cosmic causation leads to increase feelings of fatalistic helplessness and to the view that human experience is transitory and illusory. The heavy premium that Hinduism placed on magic and astrology denied history its transformative role in social and economic development. Kapp concludes that the rigid deterministic character of Hinduism obviated the one basic requisite of economic development, namely, the conviction that man makes his own history. Mishra's conclusions are similar to that of Kapp's. (M.S.A. Rao. " Religion and Economic Development. in Sociological Bulletin. Vol. XVIII. No. 1 March 1969. p. 3-4). In a review of Kapp's book, Rao points out that it was hazardous to deduce from abstract ideas of higher Hinduism values which are either favourable or unfavourable to economic development. Milton Singer in his review article on the same book was also skeptical of hypothetical and deductive conclusions arrived at by Kapp.

Sociologists and Anthropologists interested in the problem of contemporary developing countries consistently stress the close interaction between the socio-cultural and economic aspects of change. Hoselitz in his " A Sociological Approach to Economic Development" advances his theory of social deviance. He characterizes societies at different levels of economic development by describing them in terms of contrasting pairs of pattern variables as these were defined by Talcott Parsons. He associates economic development with a transformation of social behaviour from a form which in its economically relevant aspects is oriented towards ascription, particularism and functional diffuseness to a form of social behaviour oriented towards achievement, universalism and functional specificity. In somewhat different terms he states the theory by saying that a society on a low level of economic development is charaterized in the main by the following features :

Economic roles are distributed on the basis of what status a person has rather than whether he has shown the necessary competence to fill the role: and economic relations in general, for example, exchanges of goods and services are based often on traditionally prescribed and sanctioned acts and performances rather than on attempts to arrive at a balancing of values through bargaining or the use of a price mechanism. But in the little advanced country the attainment of and selection for certain economic roles is based merely on ascription rather than achievement; the overall pattern of distribution of roles between classes of the society is particularistic rather than universalistic. Mobility is difficult or in extreme cases absent, both between social groups, different professions and often also between different localities. A society with a strong and vigorous caste system exhibits particularistic patterns in a clear form. Finally, the type of economic roles performed in a society on a low level of economic advancement are typically diffuse, whereas in a developed economy they are typically highly specific. This is an outcome of the increasing division of labour, which implies greater and greater specialization of tasks as the economy develops. (Bert F. Hoselitz. A Sociological Approach to Economic Development). Hoselitz borrows Schumpeter's analysis of the role of the innovating entrepreneur in economic growth. He states that in the medieval and modern Europe the capitalistic entrepreneur was regarded as the proto type of the social deviant. By definition he is an innovator, a finder and applier of new combinations and hence, in a society where innovation is at best tolerated but hardly carries high approval, any one engaging in innovating behaviour is, by this very fact, a deviant. The set of innovating acts thus was in opposition to existing norms or to approved forms of behaviour. The case of usury exhibits the development of deviant social behaviour and its eventual transformation into approved behaviour. The role expectations of a lender since the 16th century presumes not only his desire for interest, but also attaches a positive valuation to this practice. A similar transition of valuation took place in the case of commerce, especially large-scale foreign commerce. The earlier general antipathy to trade was changed to a more permissive attitude later and finally full acceptance not only of the desirability of commerce, but even of its character as a virtuous and God-pleasing occupation was granted, (Hoselitz. A Sociological Approach to

Economic Development, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe. 1960. Chap. II).

Talcott Parsons (T. Parsons & E. A. Shils (eds) Toward a General Theory of Action. Harvard, Cambridge Mass. 1951. pp. 80-91) and Levy (M. J. Levy. The Structure of Society. Princeton N. J. 1952) have indicated that the relations of an individual to his society will differ in a number of dimensions, of which the most significant involve cognition, membership and substantive relations. Cognition or the way the individual interprets the physical world about him, tends to vary from the irrational to the rational as societies develop or from superstition to reason. In terms of membership, development brings with it a change from particularism (or in Barson's term ascription) to universalism (or achievement). Under the former, roles in society are chosen on the basis of individual's family, religion, caste, income: under the latter the choice is made on the basis of capacity to fulfill such a role. Substantive relationships range from the diffuse, in which the limit of the obligations of people to one another are vague, to the specific in which they are spelled out in contractual form. (Charles P. Kindleberger. Economic Development. p. 20).

According to Parsons and Levy, for economic development to take place some considerable rationality in cognition, universalism, in membership and specicity in relations are needed. Rationality is required not only at the highest levels to further the development of science and productive invention, but throughout the system. People must learn to the goal-oriented and work to achieve given ends. Universalism is a less insistent requirement than rationality, but nepotism, caste, slavery, closed classes and discrimination against minority groups, waste ability and reduce a society's capacity to produce. (Ibid. p. 20).

Heil J. Smelser in his 'The Modernization of Social Relations' makes it very clear that economic development is only one aspect of the complex of social change experienced by the emerging nations. According to him the term "modernizaton"—a conceptual cousin of the term "economic development" but more comprehensive in scope—refers to the fact that technical, economic and ecological changes ramify through the whole social and cultural fabric. Smelser expects profound changes in the following spheres :—

1. Political sphere :— simple, tribal or village authority systems give way to systems of suffrage, political parties, representation, and civil service bureaucracies.

2. Educational sphere :— illiteracy gives way to productive skills.

3. Religious sphere :— secularised belief systems replace traditionalistic religions.

4. Familial sphere :— extended family loses its pervasiveness.

5. Stratificational sphere : — geographical and social mobility making inroads into the fixed ascriptive hierarchical system.

Smelser states that various changes begin at various times and proceed at different rates in a developing nation. Some of the typical institutional changes and discontinuities that are part of the modernizing process includes changing work relations, changing family relations and changing community relations.

To Smelser economic development means, above all, the segregation of economic activities from the traditional setting. As a result of these changes, the worker's relations to economic life are greatly altered. He now receives cash for services performed and spends it for goods and services in the market. More and more of his income and welfare come to depend on the pay envelope and less and less on the traditional rights and obligations expected from and owed to kins-people and neighbours (Smelser. Ibid. p. 129.

Modernization tends to encourage the development of a family unit that is formed on emotional attraction and built on a limited sexual-emotional basis. The family has been removed from other major social spheres except for the segmental, external ties of individual family members. Within the family the complex and multifunctional relations of family members to one another tend to be pared down to more exclusively emotional ties. (Smelser. Ibid. p. 133).

Community and associational life which was closely knit with the ascribed bases of social existence : kinship and clanship, and

tribal and caste affiliations were replaced by formal organizations such as trade unions, clubs, voluntary associations and special interest groups in an industrial society.

Thus Smelser views social and economic development as part of the process of differentiation and concomitant integration of social and economic structure which typically accompany industrializasion and urbanization. According to Robert Redfield the differences between town and country are more significant for economic development than the differences among towns or among rural societies.

The work of Clifford Geetz and J. L. Sadie, are examples of investigations by Anthropologists which serve to emphasize the interdependence of socio-cultural and economic change. J. L. Sadie writes, for example, that "the economic conditions the under-developed community is fundamentally a function of its socio-cultural customs and institutions, in consequence of which the generation of economic development of a people by themselves is neither more nor less than a socio-psychological process, (J.L. Sadie. "The Social Anthropology of Economic Under-development" Economic Journal. Vol. 70 June 1960. p. 294). E. E. Hagen a distinguished economist falls in line with the sociologists and anthropologists and proclaims that change in cultural personality is the basic explanatory variable in economic development. (E. E. Hagen. Theory of Social Change: How Economic Growth begins. Homewood 111. Dorsey Press 1962.)

An analysis by Philip Hauser ("Cultural and Personal Obstacles to Economic development in the Less Developed Areas" in Human Organization, 18 [Summer 1959] pp. 78-84) details some of the obstacles which the native cultures of under-developed areas place in the way of economic development. His observations were based on South and South-East Asia, but the general point of the role of social factors holds for other under-developed regions. Hauser describes five main elements hindering economic development, First he notes that the traditional value systems emphasize spiritual rather than material values and in other ways conflict with material aspirations. Second, these societies are highly stratified into an elite and a lower class, the middle class being very small or non-existent. The effective utilization of human resources is inhibited by the fact that

opportunities for training and advancement are distributed among the elite, often on the basis of criteria other than merit. Third, there is great deference to age, which further inhibits effective utilization of manpower. Age and seniority take precedence over training and competence. The fourth social factor which hinders economic development is the pre-scientific mentality. Views of the universe as controlled by astrological, numerological, magical, animistic and other non-rational forces often interfere with economic incentives. Finally, Hauser points to the atomistic or "loose" social ties in some under-developed societies which result in their inability to move in a concerted way toward common objectives. The individual is so immersed in self, family, or local concerns that he does not develop the broad prospective and wider sense of responsibility which are important in maintaining industrial discipline and co-ordination.

Resistance to change is much cited as an alleged obstacle to development in under-developed countries. The mores, traditions and cultural patterns perpetuated by the caste system and joint family, are said to be responsible for this resistance, in India. They work against development itself. The caste system does not encourage occupational mobility and personal ambitions. Educated persons prefer work which does not spoil their hands. Joint family may have an inhibiting effect on many of the factors of economic development for example mobility, savings, risk-taking, and even willingness to work. Economic aspiration or even incentive is dulled by the necessity to contribute all the work while having only a limited share of the fruits. The incentive to take risks in entrepreneurship is blunted in the same way.

Resistance to change—viewed in terms of how it relates to economic development—is of two main types. First, there is resistance because "chance would impinge on deeply held beliefs or status determining relationships" and secondly, there is resistance because "change involves risks" (S. P. Hayes. Jr. "Personality and Cultural Problems of Point IV" in B. F. Hoselitz (ed) The Progress of Under-developed Areas (Chicago : The University of Chicago Press. 1952. p. 210). David McClelland, from a psychological view point underlines self-reliance and an achievement orientation which he calls "Mental Virus" as pre-requisite for economic development. Both Arnold Anderson and Edward Shils, writing about education, stress the development of skills and a spirit of creativity.

Gunnar Myrdal in his Asian Drama stresses the over-all institutional development as a necessary condition for economic development. " People's attitude to work and life hardened by stagnation, isolation, ignorance and poverty and under-pinned by tradition and often by religion are frequently found to be inimical to change of any kind." (Gunnar Myrdal. Foreword to the book 'Blossoms in the Dust' by Kusum Nair [New York : Frederick A. Praeger, 1963] p. xiv.)

The goals and values of a people tend to get institutionalised and which in its turn will lead to the evolution of particular patterns of social relationship and ways of doing things. These social institutions like forms of religion, social classification, law, custom etc. thus represent a crystallization of human attitudes and values. But when such a development takes place the institutions themselves would affect the social behaviour of the people. Thus attitude and behaviour on the one hand and institutions on the other, act and react upon one another with the result that the institutional structure becomes more and more rigid. When institutions thus get fossilized, it would appear that the society becomes a slave to customs and traditions; and if such institutions are inimical to any improvement in material well-being, it would not be possible for society to make any economic progress, unless by some means of social revolution, this institutional strait-jacket is thrown out. For in such a situation the economic actor's behaviour is oriented to the secondly, there is resistance because " change involves risks " institutional system in which he acts and aspires. His action and behaviour will have meaning only if looked at from the angle of the institutional fabric which binds him." (John E. Sawyer. Social Structure and Economic Progress. pp. 322-323).

Frankel points out that technological change is not a mere improvement in the technical know-how. It means much more than this. It should be preceded by sociological change also, a willingness and desire on the part of the community to modify their social, political and administrative institutions so as to make them fit in with the new techniques of production and the faster tempo of economic activity.

The close relationship between economic growth and social values and attitudes of people, is very clearly brought out in a report

of the International Labour Office. The substance of the report runs as follows :—" Economic development cannot be conceived solely in accounting and mechanistic terms, as the transfer of capital and plant, the switching of factors of production. It proceeds through the refashioning of aptitudes, habits and personal relationships, the creation of new forms of co-operation and organisation, the generation of new goals for individuals and for communities. It is a social process in the sense that every member of society is involved in the fashioning of new social structures which co-ordinate the action of individuals for the attainment of new goals." (I.L.O. Report of the Director General. Report I. Part I. International Labour Conference. Forty third Session [Geneva 1959] pp. 51-52).

The importance of a favourable climate for economic development is accepted by all. Unless the ground is prepared, provision of modern equipments, and huge sums of money, etc. fail to bear fruit in proportion to the sacrifices made. "Ancient philosophies have to be scrapped, old social institutions have to be disintegrated, bonds of caste, creed and race have to be burst and large number of persons who cannot keep up with progress have to have their expectations of a comfortable life frustrated." (U.N. Measures for the Economic Development of Under-developed Countries, p. 15).

To effect an alteration in the social institutions and motivation pattern, is a painful process. But this has to be done at all costs if economic development with social justice is desired. For this what is essential is that there must be political stability. The leadership must be wise and trustworthy and it must inspire confidence, so that the public may fully co-operate with the Government. People in power must have the wisdom and the judgment to surround themselves with men of ability, industry and integrity so that it might be possible to carry on the work of economic development and even to accelerate it.

Conclusion

Although there is difference of opinion among social scientists as to the importance of the various factors in bringing about economic development, all social scientists recognised the importance of non-economic factors. Development economists in particular are aware that the key economic functions used in analysing advanced economies may take quite different forms in less-developed countries

for reasons that are largely political, social and institutional. They have realized the need for seeing the economic and non-economic aspects of developmental process in its interdependence.

Apart from sociologists and anthropologists, Gunnar Myrdal, Adam Curle, Fredrick Harbinson, Charles A. Meyers, to quote a few, point out that a comparative study of the experience of the new states of Asia and Africa would show that though less obvious, social and cultural conditions are often more important for rapid economic transformation. E. E. Hagen, a distinguished economist holds the view that change in cultural personality is the basic explanatory variable in economic development. He considers economic variables as mere parameters or conditioning circumstances within cultural change of a fundamental sort brings about a change from economic stagnation to growth. Rostov and Adelman took a middle position. They consider social and cultural factors as merely conditioning circumstances or additional variables along with land, labour, capital and scientific and organizational knowledge. Socio-cultural factors are only two variables among many, including the economic and in which there is interaction between economic on the one hand and social and cultural on the other.

Robert L. Heilbroner in his ' Great Ascent ' (pp. 16-17) states that economic development is the outcome of an interaction of so many forces. But the forces working in the sphere of social organisation are of vital importance. Much of early development is accordingly pre-economic. It is concerned with the shaping of attitudes and the cre ation, forcibly or otherwise, of workable institutional structures. All of this requires far reaching social change, and this social change in turn requires for its inception the moblization of powerful political energies. He concludes by saying that "we deceive ourselves, when we think of economic development in the pallid terms of economics done. It is only by a profound social and political transformation that the ' Great Ascent ' will get into motion."

Recently Irma Adelman and Cynthis Taft Morris carried out a study of the relationship of various types of social, economic and political change with the level and pace of economic development. Their results revealed an intimate association between the pace of economic progress and non-economic forces. Their findings also indicated that the nature and importance of the non-economic determinents of economic dynamism tend to vary systematically with

the stage of a country's socio-economic development. At the lowest level social forces are typically the most important non-economic influence upon economic activity.

The simplest and clearest conclusion of this paper is to be found in the characterisation of Development by Dr. Malcolm S. Adiseshiah in his recent publication, 'Let my country awake'. "I would first like to advance a negative definition of development in stating what it is not. It is not economic growth which must overcome social and non-economic obstacles.........

"The great economists have always themselves stressed these limitations and no one put the point more succinctly than Keynes when, raising his glass to toast the Royal Economic Society, just before his death, he said: 'I give you the toast of the Royal Economic Society, of economics and economists, who are the trustees not of civilization but of the possibility of civilization......

"Economic behaviour, so called, is a function of the total behaviour pattern established by an individual and society and not the other way around. Quantitative changes (all economic changes are quantitative or they are not economic) become valid for development only in so far as they work through and involve structural changes.........

"So defined, development is a function of a series of variables, not just of the economic variables of industrialization, urbanization and national income level, but also of the enlightenment variables of schooling, literacy and media exposure, the power variables of participation, party membership and voting, the personality variables of motivation, need-achievement and empathy, the diverse cultural variables or the local, temporal aspects of social and cultural, behaviour and the ecology variables of population, organization, environment and technology together with the principles of interdependence, differentiation, dominance and key function. Development must thus be conceived in a holistic, organic, dynamic, valuational manner. Its planning requires a human-centred approach.

"From this socio-scientific approach, there emerges the doctrine of development as people. Development is by and for people. Its alpha and omega, its beginning and end, are human values and goals, human feelings and emotions."

(Let my country awake, Orient Longman, New Delhi - PP. 209 - 214)

The economic, social, political, religious systems exist for man. They are but living relations from man to man. Therefore man is primary in all social changes. In him they begin, change and end. It is to living man, on his attitudes and understanding they depend. It is to him that power has been given to deal with the ultimate reality of human welfare, including economic progress.

* * *

In the discussion of the paper at the seminar chaired by Mr. J. Ramachandran, Principal, Presidency College Madras, there was general agreement with the major thesis of the paper, that Economic Development is a sector or sub-system within the larger social system whose purpose is man and his improved well being. It is necessary for all the sectors, economic, social, cultural and political to move forward together in such a way that they reinforce one another. The stereotypes of Indian and Hindu society referred to in the paper as a society which is tradition bound, other worldly Karma oriented and fatalistic, was discussed and their half truths emphasized. The basic problem is all round and all pervasive poverty which goes along with degradation of man and society. What is now needed is for Indian society to move forward on all points. It is ready to do so.

The moral of the paper is the urgent need for the Indian sociologist, anthropologist, social psychologist and political scientist, to translate the generalised statements about the influence and importance of non-economic, institutional factors' into the key variables in Indian society which must be reoriented, modified and strengthened. It is their task first to identify and next to develop a programme of work on the key social, cultural, political and ethical variables as the Indian economist is doing with his variables of production, consumption, savings investment, prices etc. From this point of view there is urgent need for social science studies and research to concentrate on the content of education, relations between human and animal life, family, housing and social customs so that the school, the radio and the political processes of democracy can be mobilised to bring about speedy and comprehensive development of the country.

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SOCIAL SCIENCES IN THE SOUTH*

Social Sciences and Development

We have a tradition in the human sciences—Law, history, philosophy, literature and art. For some obscure reason two of the social sciences, Economics and Political Science have also been part of this tradition. Whether one looks at the four-fold division of the Social Sciences established by the Indian Council of Social Science Research for its major project on the survey of research in the Social Sciences or the seven-fold "nomothetical" disciplines used by Unesco for survey of its main trends of research in the Social and human sciences, our coverage of the Social Sciences in South India is somewhere between 25 and 30 per cent of the total terrain. As regards the yawning gap between our development goals and our actual achievements, I believe we have in the Social Sciences and research in the Social Sciences an impressive instrument for bridging this gap. I have referred to our barren and arid social science landscape and suggested that we in the South are responsible for this barrenness and aridity. We have been unaware that the social sciences have within their grasp the secrets which can help us solve our urgent social problems or avoid taking wrong or ill considered actions which create problems. I will take some six instances of the kind of urgent development issues that face us in Tamil Nadu to illustrate my thesis of how we are neglecting or compounding problems through non use of the social sciences.

Housing

I begin with housing. In Tamil Nadu we were six million houses short in 1961 and by the end of the fifth plan period we will be 9 million houses in deficit. The State Housing Board has plans for constructing 6,650 housing units during the next 4 years for the

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* Extracts from the Inaugural address of Dr. Malcolm S. Adiseshiah to the Seminar on the Role, Functions, Progress and Organisation of the Indian Council of Social Science Research on 29th January, 1971, University of Madras.

low income group. Apart from the obvious problem of constructing the houses so that they are within the means of the low or middle income group for whom they are intended, there is the further problem of ensuring that such new housing adds to the welfare and not the ill fare of the tenants. In the London area it was found that workers who had moved into the new housing settlement were facing a shorter life span than when they lived in their slums. A social survey showed that this was due to the small increase in their salary percentage which went as rents to the new tenements—a percentage increase which reduced their food intake and so caused a higher mortality rate.

In Madras City out of 2,600,000 inhabitants 7,00,000 or over 27 per cent are living in 600 slums. Incidentally our slum dwellers, as pointed out by our Chief Minister, are the thews and sinews of the commerce and industry of the city, the vital manual link between capital and production and the labour infra-structure on whom the whole city depends. The Slum Clearance Board which has now been made an autonomous statutory body, with the help of a devoted band of architects, engineers and administrators is engaged in providing open development plots, multi-storeyed tenements and transit tenements for the slum dwellers so that they could be housed as befit human beings. But the transit and permanent tenements are themselves becoming slums with the same decadent features, the children and even adults defacating all over the place, with the waste and garbage accumulating, with children running around all day without schools, with flies, mosquitoes and other vermin growing and flourishing in pools of stagnant water. There is the further problem of the continued co-existence of the old slums and the new tenements. Due to the concentration of industry in the metropolis, when the slum dweller moves into the tenement he brings in his relatives from the village to work in the city and live in the slums. I need not go on. The rapid construction of tenements is not the sole solution for the liquidation of slums. There is need for the identification of factors which will induce and enable the slum dweller who is trapped in a vicious circle to live a normal and healthy life. I hope that the inclusion of the term investigation in the statutes of the Board, portends such essential extra construction work.

Pollution

I turn next to air pollution. The metropolitan areas of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh are facing a serious problem of air pollution. There is the gas and diesel fumes of our motor transport; there is the dirt and smoke issuing from the chimneys of our factories in Waltair and Visakhapatnam, Hyderabad and Salem, Madurai and Madras; there is the discharge of the waste waters of our many manufacturing establishments. The Manavali Refinery has been a puzzle. Those passing by sense a strong and somewhat obnoxious smell which is not very different from the odours given off by the back waters of the Adyar and Cooum. The obvious answer is not to go back to my boyhood days of the bullock cart and jutka, of subsistence agricultural and the import of all our needed manufactures. That would be purchasing the biosphere at an unacceptable price. Here certainly is a case where a judicious use of the social sciences can enable us to eat our cake and keep it too.

The pre-school child

Let us turn next to the problem of malnutrition of the pre-school child. This is a serious problem because the malnutrition suffered as a child between the years 1 and 5 and the resulting brain damage can never be repaired—whatever may be the quality of the school he attends, the level of learning and teaching materials, or well regulated school meals and milk consumption. An Indian Institute of Public Opinion survey concludes that nearly 326 million of our people are subject to malnutrition, that 50 million children die of it and another 82 million children suffer from retarded growth. The simplistie solution to combat this malnutrition of the pre-school child proposed by economists, and I have been one of them, is that a growth in per capita income will lead to improved nutrition of the child. But the other social sciences can point to four rather questionable assumptions upon which this apparently simple and facile theory rests.

— that an increase in average per capita income in Tamil Nadu leads to an increase in the per capita income of its rural people—particularly the 80 per cent. who live by dry farming or are landless labourers.

— that an increase in the per capita income of these rural poor leads to an increase in the amount that they spend on fool.

- that an increase in the amount spent on food by this group leads to an improvement in nutrition.
- and that an improvement in the nutrition of the poor family means an improvement in nutrition of the pre-school children in the family.

All these four assumptions need detailed investigations alongside of a programme aimed at GNP or per capita income increase. As far as correcting the malnutrition of the pre-school child is concerned we should rather start with such mundane investigations into what he eats, why he eats it and how it gets to him. Then we can decide what are the feasible points of intervention within that delivery system—a slight twist of the market mechanism? a shift in production incentives? retail price policies and rationing? Then there is the place of the beaurocracy in charge of the system. How able are they? Have they the commitment and the muscle? How can the number of officials and the interminable clearance procedures be reduced? On top of all this are of course the issues which are outside the universe of discourse of the social scientist. Is the proposed programme politically attractive to our political parties? If it is, and considering the fact that political action responds not to poverty but to poverty when it is visible, is the proposed programme sufficiently visible? Will it produce visible results within the normal 4 to 5 years of the party in power? How are the various commercial and commodity interest groups likely to react to it?

Family Planning

I turn next to our family planning programme. The urgencies here need no emphasis—whether it be the average food intake, the number of houses that have to be built, the number of schools which have to be created and the number of teachers trained, the hospital beds that have to be expanded and above all the viability of our whole political and social democratic system. Recently I was in the Carribbean talking to one of its Prime Ministers who observed that for the political and democratic viability of a State, there is a minimum which he put at 2 million. This view can be questioned but what cannot be questioned is the ethical and moral issue implicit in his observation. When I was born we were less than 300 million in this land.—300 million to quarrel with, to steal from, to cheat, to help, to serve and to love. Today the opportunity on all these

fronts with the population of 700 million in the subcontinent is more than doubled. Our population and family planning programme is doing fairly well on the medical, paramedical, publicity and propaganda side and some small gains have been registered. But as far as the rural countryside is concerned, there is a whole set of questions—social, cultural, economic, ethical and religious. These forces are still to be investigated and brought out into the open so that the husband and wife in the village hut can be helped to make the decision on which his dignity and the rights of his wife and children as well as the success of our development policy and family planning programme rest. The responsibility on the social scientist in this regard is no less than the welfare of our future generations.

Political Process

Let us turn now to our political processes which are of topical interest to us today in the midst of our mid-term poll. In Tamil Nadu there is a double interest, for the mid-term poll is to cover both the State Assembly and the Lok Sabha. In our 1967 General Elections, 61.43 per cent voted—Why was this? Should we say that India is only a 60 per cent democracy? On my return home to Madras this month after an absence of 25 years, (and incidentally since I left home soon after independence, I have never exercised my right to vote)—I tried to register myself and my wife as voters. I found the filling of the registration form complex enough and I was thinking about the 65 per cent adult illiterates and the 80 per cent women illiterates. I see that I am not alone in finding my way through this puzzle. A correspondent from Ernakulam reports that he had to queue up before a minimum of 5 counters for 3 days, listening to misleading and conflicting instructions from various officials and paid 70 paise in fees in place of the statutory 10 paise. Is it surprising then that a large group of registrations is undertaken, by the interested political parties?—which is like placing before a man dying of thirst a glass of cool water and adjuring him on his honour not to take a drink while I am away taking a walk. In Madras city alone, I am told that the political parties brought in over a lakh of registration forms during the final 3 days extension. (Incidentally my wife and I registered during this extension.) And then there is the unnecessary column in the form asking some one in your district to testify that what you say is true. Here I must admit that this column is probably more difficult for us, intellectuals

who live in splendid isolation from one another, than for the villagers or slum dwellers who live in crowded companionship next to each other.

There is also the question of membership in the political parties which ranges around 2 to 3 per cent of the electorate in India as it does in the United States and France—except that in these two countries, political participation of the average citizen is expressed outside the party membership. In our country such citizen participation is increasingly expressed in forms of what I would call "direct democracy"—which is the use of revolutionary means to achieve reformist ends. I believe all political and social goals that are set forth in our world are reformist, even though they may be clothed in the most revolutionary garb. This is because I believe that the apparent antinomy of change and continuity are deeply imbedded in man and society. In any case in our country the methods of direct democracy that we seem to be following are varied and include demonstrations, marches, fastings, satyagraha, gheraos, and more recently bombings, arson murders and killings.

Another index of political participation is the number and quality of persons who offer themselves to elective office which varies from 72 per 10 thousand voters in Norway to 5 per 10 thousand in India. The measure of political apathy in our country is itself a complex problem. It is not exhausted by the percentage of citizens who do not participate in a poll. And so I could go on.

Once more the simplest answer to our problems of political democracy, to ensuring an improvement in our political processes is held to be education. There is a profound truth in this view but the correlation is not simple. At first blush there seems to be a direct correlation between education and democracy. In Africa in the last 6 years there were 17 military take overs, in Latin America there were 14, and in Asia since independence half the governments have been overthrown by their military. The third world with over 90 per cent of the world's illiteracy seems to bear out the simplest relationship between education and political participation. But the history of Europe is a denial of this relationship. Since the start of the century Europe has had universal education, it has stamped out illiteracy, its people have access to all means and media of education. And yet its fascist and Nazi societies were able to drive democracy out of existence during the inter war period. The kind of education and the other social and cultural forces, that can provide a viable

infrastructure to our democratic system need the urgent attention of our social scientists.

Change

I would end these specific type situations with the more general comment on the call to social scientists in our country. I have referred to our development goals and these goals can be expressed in the form of a series of change. But then we have no theory of what must be changed to get where. Our development therefore is criscrossed with every possible social and economic demand and facet. Groups are weakly held together, in *discrimination* as in the case of Harijans, in past antagonism as in the case of Muslims, and all these have to be moulded into a nation. Trained personnel has to be produced for quite a different political and economic frame work from the steel frame of the colonial days. Basic research into food and commercial crops has yet to be done. Languages have to be given the basis for discovering and diffusing new ideas, culture has to be reassessed and rethought to produce an integrated nation. The Gandhian morality of the pre-independence era has yet to be translated into the complex political, economic and cultural realities of a fast moving, progressive and stable nation. But perhaps the greatest factor of change is changing expectations. For the peasant, the poor, the minorities, the women, the youth, the Harijans, independence was not a purely political manouvre. It was a prospective change in their living. It was to give them a higher standard of living greater say over their affairs, a greater dignity and the combating of any and all forms of discrimination under which they had lived. This change of expectations which has been proceeding more rapidly than our economic base for change or our social goal of redistribution is perhaps the greatest cause of discontent today. On whether or not it can be met is for all of us the central issue of the seventies. And the task to chart this terrain of change, to measure its dimensions and to investigate and programme the alternatives is the sacred task of the social scientist. He knows that change in India is development, development which can be a leap forward, which is indigenous and which is centred on man and his immense potential, for strength and weakness.

Four Suggestions and a Comment

Against this panorama of some of our development demands and the tasks awaiting us social scientists, I would close with four practical conclusions and a comment.

Organising Social Science Teaching in our Colleges

The first is that in our Universities and even more in their affiliated colleges in the South we need to develop teaching and research faculties in all the social sciences. The main gaps that we face in our colleges in the South are in Sociology, Social and cultural Anthropology, Psychology, Demography and Public and Business Administration. The Indian Council of Social Science Research offers research fellowships for whole time reasearch of social scientists, post doctoral and some doctoral studies. It is bringing out a list of students who have obtained their doctorate degree in Social Sciences and an abstract of all doctorate theses in these sciences. It also proposes to finance the publication of good doctoral theses. All these represent an unusually generous programme aimed at promoting and stimulating social science research. In Tamil Nadu we have a saying—that to eat sugarcane, you do not need to be paid a wage. The Indian Council is however not only giving us the sugarcane but also paying us a wage to eat it. But this excellent programme of promotion of social science research will have limited application to us in the South, because our colleges and universities do not yet have the teaching and research facilities in over 70 to 75 per cent of the social sciences. I therefore propose in this matter three courses of action. (a) The Indian Council of Social Science Research and the University Grants Commission establish a joint committee to sponsor, stimulate and finance the organisation in the colleges and universities of the South, teaching and research departments in Sociology, Anthropology, Psychology and Demography. (b) The Madras, Annamalai and Venkateswara Universities with the participation of the principals of the affiliated colleges develop a plan for the coverage of these four disciplines in a co-ordinated and complementary manner and make the plan available to the joint committee. (c) The universities develop the courses of study, syllabi and the appropriate degrees and diplomas relevant to these disciplines. These degrees should be related to the employment prospects of such social scientists in the South. Without this kind of basic teaching infrastructure in our colleges, the existing perspectives of research opened up by the Council will be of little use to us in the South.

A Research Design in our Universities

The second suggestion is for the development of a research design and research priorities in the social sciences in the South.

Our development demands are crying aloud for analysis advice. We cannot wait till the universities and colleges have equipped themselves with teaching programmes in the social sciences. I believe that each university in the South could establish a social science research group which could develop a research design and agree upon priorities. In this connection the results of the major project of the Council, the survey of research in the social sciences, which is expected to be completed this year will provide important pointers as to the design and priorities. At this stage I have two observations to make on this matter of Social Science Research in the South. The first relates to priorities. We might well commence with the rural agricultural development complex, the political process and the problems of bureaucracy. In any case it is important that with our limited resources we do not disperse our reasearch efforts and engage in small, ad hoc, fragmented studies. My other thought is that the design must be inter-disciplinary. All development problems call for the combined skills of the social, behavioural, human, natural and other scientists. The core group here is the social, behavioural and human scientists who should form the basic unit and co-opt the others, as appropriate to the problems studied.

Employment Profile of Social Scientists

My third suggestion relates to the employment perspectives of social scientists. For economists on the whole there seems to be little or no problem. The political scientist is in a bit of limbo in the South. It would be interesting to take a census of our political leaders and legislators as well as our senior administrators to see how many have a political science base. But this is not only an Indian peculiarity. It is a world problem—Politicians everywhere seem to go to every one except the political scientists for counsel and advice. In the south this problem I believe is related to the need to modernise and Indianise our political science teaching and research and to make it an integral part of a whole-some interdisciplinary social science fraternity. I have no fears of the employment prospets for the products of the integrated Social Science teaching and research faculties of the South that I have proposed. Their employment profile is coterminus with the entire gamut of development of the South. I for one believe that our languishing development programmes in the public sector, of iron and steel, petro-chemicals, minerals, river and area development, hydro-electricity, our growing private sector, agriculture, education, health tele and mass communications etc., urgently need for their growth

and success, the services of well trained social scientists. I agree with the Council that there is no need for a separate national pool for Social Scientists. I would however propose that the Council undertake a Survey of Social Scientists in employment in academic and the public and private sectors including education, health and agriculture, together with study of the demand for such personnel in the entire development complex of the country.

A Documentation Centre for the South

My fourth suggestion is that the council establish a Social Science Documentation Centre. I am having the greatest difficulty in knowing what exists in my field here in the South, and where it exists, if it exists. In the case of the South, the centre will have to be more than a complement to existing libraries. The Council's programme to publish a Union list of Social Science periodicals and a Union Catalogue of Social Science holdings in existing libraries, is a much needed tool for the research worker. But the Centre in the South will have itself to develop important holdings particularly in the four Social Sciences, in which we have not yet made a start. In this regard I welcome the statement of the Council that through the centres, it will provide not only facilities in documentation but also help to Social Scientists for further study and professional growth. I suggest that this seminar invite the Southern Universities to join together and agree upon the establishment and location of a regional centre for social science documentation. In time, the Centre will also, I hope develop a sub data Bank, as part of the data Bank when it is established in Delhi.

Human Sciences and the Council

Finally my comment is a suggestion and a question. In the situation that we are in India and particularly in the South, should not the competen.e of the council be gradually extended to cover the human sciences? There are profound epistomological reasons that Unesco's Survey of trends in the human and social sciences have brought to light in favour of not separating the social and human sciences. But for us here in the South, the jurdical sciences, the historical sciences and philosophy are so much a part of our social science tradition that their exclusion seems like planning the shrinking of a live organism. I wonder if the South can be allowed to experiment through affording a small opening to the human sciences and its results be followed with attention by the Council.

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Regd. No. M. 8831

MADRAS INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES (M I D S)

The Institute founded and run by Dr. Malcolm S Adiseshiah is a charitable trust registered under the Madras Charitable Trusts Act.

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